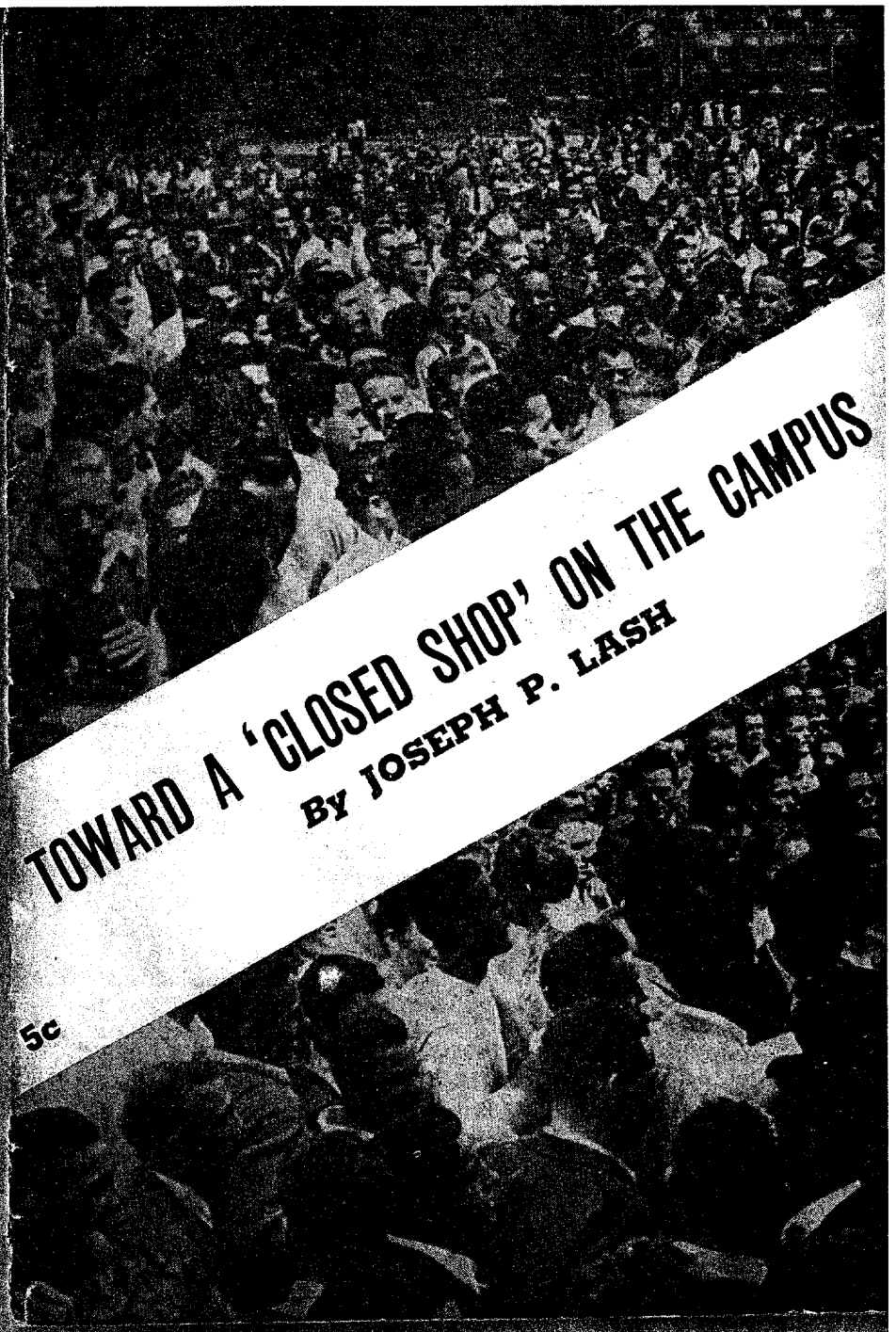


TOWARD A 'CLOSED SHOP' ON THE CAMPUS

By JOSEPH P. LASH

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This report was delivered by Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary of the American Student Union, to more than 400 delegates to the Union's second annual convention, held in Chicago in December, 1936.

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TOWARD A "CLOSED SHOP" ON THE CAMPUS

A Report to the Second Annual Convention of the American Student Union

ONE year ago several hundred students met at Columbus, Ohio, to set up the American Student Union. That first convention was dominated by the belief that American students everywhere, in their common devotion to such ideals as economic security, peace and democracy, could set out together on the road toward achieving those objectives. Republicans, Democrats, liberal students, believed these aspirations compatible with capitalism. They held that our common aims could be fulfilled by the capitalist state if student and public opinion were made articulate and insistent. They supported the American Student Union as an instrument of expressing these views. Socialists and Communists, while asserting that capitalism could not ultimately give us security, peace and democracy, believed that some measure of these goals might be achieved if sufficient pressure were mobilized behind them. In addition, they recognized that the mass of students would not accept the socialist solution before they were convinced through inquiry and effort that capitalist society could not give them the essentials of a decent life. For these reasons they gave their support to the A.S.U. All of us could unite, despite political differences, on immediate steps; we would discover more deep-seated truths in the course of our endeavors.

Unity was the galvanizing word at Columbus. Hundreds of students travelled in the dead of winter to aid in the realization of that unity which was admittedly a pre-condition of effectiveness. Has the past year proven that hope an illusory one? Has the A.S.U. justified the efforts and sacrifices made for it? Can one answer in the negative when remembering the anti-war strike of 500,000 students led by the Union, and the establishment of the United Student Peace Committee to which the strike was so great an impetus? Examine the hearings upon the American Youth Act and note the hundreds of students we brought to Washington to make those hearings a success. Have the students of America ever had so dynamic and colorful a voice as *The Student Advocate?* Our paid-up membership is triple that of the now dissolved National Student League and Student League for Industrial Democracy, and our active membership is far greater. So strong

have we become in New York—5,000 A.S.U.'ers marching on May Day, election of student councils on A.S.U. programs in all the city colleges, a Board of High Education divided evenly upon the question of recognizing the A.S.U. in the city colleges—that we have provoked a special investigation by Senator McNaboe and scores of editorials by that ace of reactionaries, Hearst. The granite workers in Vermont, the elevator boys in New York, the steel workers in Pittsburgh and the marine workers on the coast will testify to the cooperation and support our Student Union has given them. There is only one answer: The A.S.U. has succeeded! No liberal or radical will dare challenge the need for a student union. And the protests of the Right confirm us in this conviction.

W are not here, however, for self-congratulation. Enormous vistas previously shut off from our sight by disunity have now appeared. An organization of 20,000 is a real achievement. But there are 750,000 college students in the United States the majority of whom should be aligned with us. There are 5,000,000 high school students, a territory which we have hardly begun to explore. In the early and divided days of the student movement an organization fancied itself making great gains when a new chapter was founded or when the "vast" number of ten or twenty transferred allegiance from one group to another. The formation of the Union has confonted us with the real magnitude of our task. Now we can see all that has to be done if students are to be kept from being the shock troops of fascism as they were in Germany and Italy. Now we perceive the scope of our task if the American educational system is to be transformed into that fortress of true democracy to which it nominally professes allegiance.

The problem at Columbus was to lay the foundation for a mass student movement by unifying our own resources. The problem at this convention is to blueprint a twelve-month plan for building the A.S.U. into an organization of 50,000 students, enabling us to become the spokesman for the student population of the United States. Last year we built the dynamo. This coming year we must gear it to the hundreds of campuses needing its power.

Our problem is twofold. One is of domestic housekeeping. The other is of policy. I shall merely outline the first since it will be dealt with by others. It is that of building an efficient organizational apparatus, of financial responsibility—every member feeling a personal duty to help meet the national budget; promotion of literature sales, especially *The Advocate;* the efficient running

of a chapter; getting the most out of district organization and the visits of field secretaries; improving the services of the National Office; the Chapter Guide; chapter assessments and membership; inner organizational fellowship.

And secondly there is the question of what policy and the ways of execution of that policy. This is a separation of convenience. No policy can be executed without a healthy and functioning organism as its instrument. No organism can become healthy without a correct policy.

At the outset I want to say that the basic task at this congress is not programmatic. In all its essentials our program has proven a correct one. Our problem is how to carry out our program and how to integrate its execution with the building of the A.S.U. Frankly, it would be regrettable if the emphasis of this convention were on the matters of policy that occasioned debate even at Columbus. Differences on the question of peace, of political action, will and should be clarified at this congress, but no point of view is important, no matter how valid, if it remains private to ourselves. Our job here is to determine how we can win the majority of students to a program that is basically sound, how we can make that program significant and inspiring to the majority of American undergraduates. There are many mute, inglorious Miltons, possessing great emotions and insights but lacking the technical skill and imaginative craftsmanship to create great literature. Similarly there are many little Lincolns who are motivated by the proper idealism and social insight, but lack the ability to convert anyone else to their view of society. Our job here is one of craftsmanship—how to rally thousands of students to our program.

The Student and Economic Security

I shall start with our campaigns for the achievement of economic security. To many of us has that section in our program meant merely passing a resolution on the inadequacy of the National Youth Administration and circulating a petition in support of the American Youth Act? That type of action can be reserved for the president of the National Student Federation. We have more important work to do. Indeed, I should say that what we do in connection with the N.Y.A. is a test of our organization as a real trade union on the campus. It should be said that even during the past year we did some work in organizing students

on this issue. At the hearings for the American Youth Act called by the American Youth Congress in Washington it was the A.S.U. that most widely mobilized its membership for the hearings. At several colleges, such as the Universities of North Carolina and Minnesota, we set about organizing unions of N.Y.A. student workers which negotiated with N.Y.A. administrators for increased allotments and for adapting jobs to applicants' interests. Our New York district made a notable effort to obtain N.Y.A. jobs for summer school students. Two years ago, at Brooklyn College, the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs, after a two-year drive led by the A.S.U., gave students a voice in the administration of N.Y.A. activities. A student advisory committee of five elected by the college's N.Y.A. workers has been established. Finally, the vigilance of the A.S.U. has prevented utilization of the N.Y.A. funds to intimidate progressive students.

But how glowing is this record of accomplishment so long as tens of thousands of students are being denied N.Y.A. assistance despite their real need and qualification? How important are the one thousand organized into N.Y.A. unions compared to the 160,000 receiving N.Y.A. benefits? Has our campaign for the American Youth Act been sustained and powerful? Aubrey Williams of the N.Y.A. has just announced through a student correspondent that N.Y.A. aid will be cut proportionately with the rest of the W.P.A. There are rumors that it will be compltely abandoned in June as one of the "luxury aspects" of W.P.A. no longer necessary. N. Raymond Walters, President of the University of Cincinnati, declares in the current issue of *School and Society*: "Forecasts as to future attendance (at college) are impossible because of the possibility of discontinuance of N.Y.A. support. . . ." Where are the N.Y.A. unions to challenge these cuts? Are we in a position to mobilize thousand of students in the face of these cuts for the Washington pilgrimage on behalf of the American Youth Act? I want to quote from an editorial, "The Diminishing N.Y.A.", from the Drake University newspaper on December 18. There is no A.S.U. at Drake: "Students who wish the N.Y.A. maintained must get out and work for its continuance by putting pressure on Congress. Make Congress grant an appropriation that will in some way cover the desperate needs of many of the country's young people. Write letters to your Congressman. Send delegations to your Senators and Representatives. If staggering sums can be allocated to take care of the nation's munition men, cannot a few million dollars be appropri-

ated for the nation' youth who are anxious to gain a college education?" I wish there were editorials of this character in the newspapers of the schools where there are powerful A.S.U. chapters. In these months, the A.S.U. must make its foremost task the mobilization of student leaders, editorials, faculty support and mass student support against the cutting of the N.Y.A. and integrate this campaign with pressure for the A.Y.A.

Throughout the country there has swept an impression of prosperity. Our Tory class is turning its loss of prestige in the elections into a victory by pouring out bonuses in the millions. This is a prosperity shadowed by the presence of ten million unemployed, six million of whom are condemned to permanent unemployment because of technological advances. It is a prosperity reared on the wasteful structure of war preparations. These facts, plus the resistance of the Tories to all measures of social security and income equalization, provide the basis for another depression in a few years. Yet the glamor of tinsel, temporary prosperity has hit the campus. Students are deluding themselves into believing that the jazz twenties are returning. They want to convince themselves that the crisis which descended on the campus recently has passed. If they could belive this, they would then feel no responsibility for progressive social action. We reaffirm, however, that society as presently constituted cannot give us economic security. Prosperity is a myth so long as students are compelled to drop out of school because of the cutting of N.Y.A. It is a myth if students must be pauperized to stay in college. In the report by Dr. Walters cited above, he declares that the increase of 85,000 students in attendance at universities can be largely ascribed to N.Y.A. The ending of the N.Y.A. is the finale to the undergraduate careers of these 85,000. The A.S.U. states its firm intention to fight the cut in N.Y.A. We declare to President Roosevelt that the mandate he was given in November dictated democratization of educational opportunity, the continuance and extension of youth assistance. We warn that the students of this country are determined to interpret that mandate for him in our mass pilgrimage to Washington in February.

In this campaign a vital social principle is embodied. Our educational system has taught us to believe that government assistance is something to be ashamed of, that our demand for aid reflects an unwillingness to fight our way up from the bottom as Horatio Alger did. Speaking in opposition to the N.Y.A. before the Wisconsin College presidents and deans, President-elect

Barrows of Lawrence College declared that the N.Y.A. may have started "an educational dole which will lead youth to regard college education as something the government owes him, instead of, as we thought, a rare luxury." Society is pampering us, it is said. The same cries were levelled against the establishment of free public education in the early nineteenth century. Our answer must be the same as that of the trade unionists who were then in the forefront of the battle for public education. Society has a responsibility to its young people to see that the formative period of our lives is not twisted by poverty, insecurity, ignorance. A truly democratic society would give its young people a full education, in healthy and inspiring surroundings. These young people would later repay that society by the intelligence and sanity that they would bring to the solution of social problems, by the fulness and happiness of their lives. The N.Y.A. does not represent charity. It expressed a responsibility of American society which will not be genuinely fulfilled until Congress passes the American Youth Act.

The Challenge of Co-Operatives

What else does "economic security" mean to students? During the past year a new movement has set in on the campus—cooperatives. None of us fully recognized its importance. If the A.S.U., on local campuses, has established cooperatives, that is because a volunteer worker in the National Office, Charles Saphirstein, was so insistent that we could not ignore the cooperative movement. At the present time the A.S.U. has itself established some ten cooperative ventures and participated in the establishment of some twenty others. They include book stores, eating houses, dorms and laundries. They are a concrete service to the student body. At Temple the establishment of a cooperative book store increased the membership of the chapter 20 in two weeks. The vitality of our Dartmouth chapter is due in large measure to the cooperative eating house it set up. The student cooperative movement has become important enough to warrant securing a staff person to cover that field. A.S.U. cooperatives have a great value in increasing organizational loyalty and fellowship, in making the A.S.U. more than a discussion group. This is not to say that we want to turn ourselves into fraternities set apart from the campus—we must be on guard against such isolation—but we do want to enrich the internal life of the A.S.U.

The concrete service we render through cooperatives to students bring me to other local services that chapters can render to cheapen the costs of college education and thus establish us as a genuine union. Our Berkeley chapter has undertaken a campaign to lower student activity fees. At the Univesrity of Wisconsin the inadequacy of firetrap housing and the costliness of student rents has been the object of a chapter campaign. In many places restaurant prices are exorbitant. Cooperatives or direct pressure upon the administration have achieved lower prices. How many of us have undertaken a survey of the treatment of student workers on the campus as our University of Oregon chapter has done preliminary to a campaign for a minimum wage for student workers? At Howard University a spontaneous strike took place because the football team was not getting decent meals. Why did not the A.S.U. lead this strike? That is what we mean by imaginative interpretation of our program on economic security. We are a fellowship of service to the student body and no issue is too homely or unimportant for us to undertake. Only a person without social vision could fail to see the relationship of these little matters to the larger issues of insecurity and poverty afflicting contemporary society.

The Ferment Among Negro Students

To the problem of security is linked the whole problem of the extension of educational facilities. How closely these are tied together is apparent in the situation of Negro youth. Negro students are afflicted not only by the most barbarous of living conditions in school and college. The problem is an enormous one. The present facilities for Negro education are completely inadequate. Hundreds of thousands of Negroes do not attend school because of lack of facilities. In Kansas only two dollars is allotted for the education of the Negro youth to every eleven dollars of education of the whites. Only 25 of every 100 Negro youth attending school in the South are able to continue further than the sixth grade. The condition this inspires is eloquently brought out by the following incident. Hearing of a strike at the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, a Negro school, our Southern field secretary visited this school. He described the situation as follows: "The food has become unbearable. A student had called a protest meeting, and was immediately expelled, whereupon the whole student body struck, demanding

his reinstatement, better food, a student government, medical care for students (the latter had been accustomed to waiting in their rooms when ill for four or five days wihout any medical aid) and a number of other issues. The strike lasted about five days, hardly any of the 771 students breaking it. Police were on the campus all the time. Food was sent the students by a sympathetic Negro community. A committee was sent to the governor. There were good stories in the papers. However, vague promises and empty threats induced the students to go back before anything definite was won. The students are ready to strike again if their leaders aren't reinstated and the food isn't improved." Our organizer promised the students all the assistance we could provide. They urged him to stay and address a meeting to which the whole school turned out, but the president ordered the meeting dispersed and prevented our representative from meeting.

So great is the feeling among Negro students on this lack of educational facilities that the A.S.U. program when presented in terms of these needs evokes a willingness to affiliate student bodies *en masse* to the A.S.U. Our slight experience this past year in working in the South has convinced us that this question of equal and adequate educational facilities is of more immediate importance than the campaign against segregation.

There is a desperate need for organizational work, as this letter shows, in the Negro schools. We need a Field Secretary whose responsibility will be only to the Negro colleges. And can we even speak of building a strong movement among Negro students when we lack any movement whatsoever in the South? I, as might be expected of a Northerner, have frequently attributed our failure to make headway in the South to the existence of powerful reactionary traditions among Southern students. I am convinced otherwise now. A liberal tradition stemming from Jefferson is as powerful in the Southern universities as elsewhere. There are vast opportunities for building the A.S.U. in the South. Texas is even now planning a state convention of A.S.U. chapters. Perhaps we can undertake a similar regional convention in other Southern states.

I want to close this section of my report with a discussion of our campaign for free city colleges. Philadelphia has long felt the need for such a college. For many months now the Philadelphia district of the A.S.U. has been discussing a campaign for a free city college. Indeed I have seen, I believe, a bill for the establishment of such a college drafted by lawyers for the

Philadelphia A.S.U.? What has happened to this campaign? I am afraid it has remained in the slogan stage. Everybody agrees there should be a free city college. It is vaguely rumored that the A.S.U. could get lots of community support for such a campaign. We are told that this campaign will establish the prestige of the A.S.U. in Philadelphia. I agree. Where is the campaign? I concentrate on Philadelphia members not because they are particularly at fault in this matter, but because that is characteristic of what happens to A.S.U. campaigns. I emphasize the free city college campaign because it is a valuable idea and could cuild the A.S.U. in dramatic fashion. Why was there no campaign? Because no one would take the responsibility for its execution. Because the district did not sit down and assign responsibility, then every week review precisely and carefully what had been done and discover whether all the assignments had been carried out. Campaigns do not grow spontaneously. If they did, we would not have to have an A.S.U. People must do the dirty work. Plans must be mapped out, jobs assigned, work reviewed. It is so easy to be careless in collective, voluntary work such as ours that every campaign must have a time schedule. There must be no individualism, for if the individual doesn't carry out his work, it remains undone, unless it is checked by committees. I speak frankly because I am criticizing myself. I didn't keep after Philadelphia on this matter. I did not give them the advice they needed. And the staff did not check up on me.

The aspirations I have spoken of in this section of the report are shared by most of the students of the United States. Indeed they have universal sanction because of our American traditions of equalitarianism. Will these aspirations become realities? Not so long as our technique is one of shouting slogans, passing resolutions and avoiding the detailed work that is imperative.

The Student and Democracy

I WILL now turn to another group of problems raised by our program and examine our success in meeting them. Political democracy is one of the deepest traditions in American society. It impregnates our whole public life. Its symbols dominate the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the speeches of politicians, the textbooks in civics. Some would say that the widespread use of this word, because of the repression and in-

equality that is, nevertheless, persuasive in American life, renders the word meaningless. Yet the fact that repression and injustice must be cloaked in the forms of equality and democracy by the Tories in order to perpetuate their privileges should demonstrate the hold that these values have upon the masses of American people. Our campaigns for the democratization of the university, for academic freedom, for the elimination of fascist ideologies and groups among American students have a powerful support in the textbooks of the very universities and of the very system that practice repression and discrimination. If the A.S.U. were to show itself capable of organizing student defense of educational democracy, it would undoubtedly gain widespread prestige and support in the student body. It would justify the name of union.

During the past year there were three notorious violations of academic freedom. Because of his leadership of a demonstration against sending a Columbia delegate to Heidelberg, and more generally because of his aggressive leadership of the A.S.U. at Columbia, Robert Burke was expelled. You are all familiar with the case through the splendid pamphlet that we published. You may have read Dr. Butler's annual statement a week ago in which he declared that Columbia sent a delegate to Heidelberg as a *protest* against its debasement under fascism! The A.S.U. failed to reinstate Burke. Our failure partly lay in the determination of the Columbia authorities to make an example of Burke. But the failure also lay in the shortcomings of our Columbia chapter. Who can say that the Burke case was less clear-cut than the Reed Harris case in 1932 in which Harris was reinstated after a student strike? Who can say that there was not widespread undergraduate sympathy for Burke, a sympathy which never once received dramatic expression in the case? Why was the climax of the campaign a strike of only 800 students, then period? This was the first instance of outright repression against the A.S.U. A victory for us would have insured the protection of our members everywhere. And no union deserves the name which cannot protect its members. I am aware of the forces that the Columbia Union encountered in its campaign—threats, intimidation, browbeating by the administration on an unparalleled scale.

In an intensified way, we saw exemplified at Columbia during the course of this the whole apparatus of repression and intimidation that is maintained by the *status quo*. Here we saw revealed all the little methods that are employed throughout the educational system to silence such movements as the A.S.U. Fear

of loss of job, of loss of diploma, of loss of honors keep literally thousands who sympathize with us from coming into the A.S.U. We know how shortsighted is the view of the fellow who says, "I'm going to feather my own nest, and so I will stay out of the A.S.U." Unemployment is the lot of his generation, shell holes and concentration camps. Yet this was the philosophy of our chapter in the Columbia case. It surrendered its convictions and the promise of a better life to the immediate pressures of the *status quo*. So impressed were our members by the administration's threat to punish those who supported Burke, that they magnified and articulated the rumors of repression which were current on the campus. Like our chapter at U.C.L.A. in a smaller crisis, the chapter almost talked itself underground.

If the chapter had realized the importance of the Burke case; if it had fought the administration boldly on this issue, it would have won. The only way to meet the bogey-man of fear is to challenge it in the open That is what was done at the City Colleges in New York. Yes, there were expulsions and editors were fired and students were blacklisted but today the A.S.U. is predominant in the student councils, runs the newspapers, and Pres. Robinson, the instigator of this reign of suppression, is on his way out. Academic freedom is safe in Hunter College, Brooklyn, and C.C.N.Y. Liberal teachers are protected. The ideas of progress have free and wide circulation because of the courageous stand of former classes at these colleges.

The traditions of American life are on our side. The instincts of the American people are with us. If we challenge the forces of suppression, we will win.

The second case I should like to deal with concerns Washington University in St. Louis. Three members of the American Student Union, before the fall term began, wrote a letter to entering Freshmen urging them not to enroll in the R.O.T.C. For sending this letter, two lost their graduate fellowships. The adminstration used the excuse that the signers of the letter had not consuled the A.S.U. chapter before sending it out. In other words, the administration was protecting our interests! This case received a good deal of publicity, especially in the liberal *Post-Dispatch*. Again student sentiment and public opinion were on our side. And again we did not vindicate ourselves by compelling the return of the fellowships. Here the basic reason seemed to be lack of confidence of leading A.S.U. members in the power of student pressure and in the A.S.U. Indeed, so "afraid" of the A.S.U. were our mem-

bers that they tried to keep the National Office even from hearing about the case for fear we would take action without consulting them. In this connection I want to say plainly that the National Office does not go over the heads of the chapter and does not take action in a local situation without consulting the chapter. We know the wdiespread "red herring" attack upon local A.S.U.'s as being dominated by national offices who are "irresponsible trouble-makers." I want to quote our constitution on this point: Article III, Section 2, states "that individual members of the Union may abstain from any action undertaken by it. Chapters have local autonomy in determining what activities they will carry out."

Having said this, it should be added that your national officers, who are elected by you, expect you to have a certain confidence in their maturity and integrity, a confidence which is denied when information is kept from us for fear we may throw a bomb into the situation. But there is a more basic point involved in this Washington University case. It is a lack of confidence in democracy: a fear that student opinion forcefully expressed will not accomplish as much as "diplomatic negotiations." There is implied an acceptance of the stereotype of the A.S.U. that has been created by Hearst—a small, isolated group of "noisy radicals" incapable of effective action. Thus we had a situation in St. Louis where the community was aroused over the case, and the student body, because of the A.S.U. remained inactive. Can we then go to that student body and say we are in the forefront of the struggle for democratic rights on the campus, when in a specific issue we do a fadeout?

The Case of Jerome Davis

The other oustanding denial of academic freedom the past year was the announcement that Jerome Davis, Professor at Yale Divinity School, would not be re-employed. I know that the conservative and especially Republican press believes the issue of Glenn Frank to be the outstanding denial of academic freedom. Why isn't this press concerned with the issue of Jerome Davis? We haven't seen front page stories given to protests on the Davis case, but every rumor of student protest in the Frank case is a pretext for headlines. The A.S.U. believes there is a great mass of evidence to confirm the statement of the chairman of the Board of Regents that President Frank has not proven himself a capable administrator and executive. We agree, however, that

President Frank should be given a public hearing and we commend the liberalism of the Wisconsin Regents, unlike the Yale Corporation, in holding such open hearings. The situation at Wisconsin has raised the whole problem of university control. The A.S.U. has written as follows to Commissioner Studebaker of the U. S. Office of Education:

January 11, 1937.

Commissioner John Studebaker
United States Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. Studebaker:

The American Student Union is greatly concerned over the issues raised by the action of the University of Wisconsin regents on Glenn Frank. We believe it brings to the foreground the problem of what relationship higher education shall have to the state.

In the last analysis, the university is supposed to serve the people who have created and supported it. The people of a state speak through the executive officers and the legistators whom they elect; yet at the same time one would not want higher education to be subject to the whims and waves of popular feeling. Other principles over which we are concerned are the right of students and faculty to have some voice in the control of their universities.

We are not attempting to prejudice these issues. We do believe that the Frank case has provided a setting for their discussion and shown the necessity of such a discussion. It is probable that in the next three years, progressive administrations will be elected in many states. This will create the problem of the relationship of these administrations to university regents and administrations that do not reflect the growing spirit of progressivism. Student bodies and faculties are becoming organized and articulate. They will demand more control over the university.

We feel that your office is in the best position to call a conference of regents, state administrators, educational associations, student associations, and teachers' organizations to consider the matters that we have barely delineated. Such a conference could begin an analysis of these problems. Is it within the province of the Office of Education to call together such a meeting and would it be able to?

Sincerely yours,
Joseph P. Lash
National Secretary

To return to Yale—Jerome Davis' utterances on capitalism and his cooperation with trade unions had displeased the Yale Corporation. Therefore, his contract was not renewed. The last word has not yet been spoken on this matter. The A.S.U. at Yale Divinity School has mobilized the entire student body behind Professor Davis. The faculty has come to his assistance. Public opinion, especially labor, has come out in his support. A protest demonstration of New England colleges was organized by the A.S.U. at which 14 colleges were present. The Yale Corporation is powerful—so powerful that the New Haven newspapers and wire services carry no publicity on the support for Jerome Davis. And Professor Davis may not have his contract renewed. But in this case the Yale Corporation knows it has had a good fight and will step gingerly next time.

The Davis case has served again to illustrate the point as in the Schappes case at C.C.N.Y. that a strong A.S.U. protects the rights of teachers as well as students. Conversely a strong teacher's union aids in the creation of a strong student movement. We can be proud of the close cooperation and friendship that exists between the A.S.U. and the American Federation of Teachers.

These three outstanding cases of academic repression emphasize the necessity for some democratic instrument of discipline within the universities such as student-faculty courts or discipline committees, which being democratic will be more responsive to students and faculty than to trustees and administrators. These student-faculty courts should be elected by students and instructors as described in the December issue of *The Student Advocate.* Some of you read the editorial. You said to yourselves, "a good idea" and then forgot about it. Now in a way I don't blame you. A chapter cannot carry on too many campaigns at one time, especially if it has only ten members. Yet a well-planned campaign for student-faculty courts would enlist the interest of new people and help to build the A.S.U. That is the important point to remember—activity brings membership.

The issue of student-faculty courts raises the whole question of student self-government. Democratization of the university finds its best focus in the failure of most student councils to serve as the instruments of that democratization. All of us are aware that the majority of student councils are dominated by fraternity cliques and that elections are settled by interfraternity negotiation. They certainly are *not* settled by the stand taken on issues by various candidates. We are aware that student councils are

extremely responsive to administrative pressure and that the prospect of a job with the university or through an alumnus has rendered the councils useless in many places on the vital issues affecting us. Nationally this is reflected in the N.S.F.A.'s tendency to play politics with Washington and the difficulty of electing N.S.F.A. presidents on their records of student service.

If students councils actually reflected the interests of the student body, they would take up the cudgels for student-faculty courts. They would fight for retention of the N.Y.A. We know they don't. As a result in many colleges the A.S.U. has put up its own slate in student body elections on an A.S.U. platform. There is an A.S.U. bloc at the N.S.F.A. convention that is taking place at this very moment. It is not enough, however, to put up a slate once a year and then forget it the rest of the year. I have mentioned two issues which, properly raised, will win widespread support in the student body—N.Y.A. and student-faculty courts. We must urge our most talented members to take the leadership in the campaign for student aid and student democracy. Have them appear before your student council to seek action on these campaigns. When the student body elections occur, these persons, our candidates, will be known to the student body, will be identified with the effort to improve their lot, and will stand a much better chance of victory. Our efforts in students' councils on a local scale and in the N.S.F.A. nationally is to win them to forthright support for the Youth Act, the strike against war and academic freedom.

There are many other aspects to the question of democracy within the university, and civil liberties in general as they affect students. We still have with us the problem of equality of the sexes and invidious regulations concerning women students. And in many colleges and universities social life is constrained and cramped because of university regulations which apply to both men and women students. These again are issues which the A.S.U. should champion and make its own.

Many universities are changing presidents and chancellors. Usually the faculty and student body—the groups most vitally affected by these changes—have little or no voice in the choice of a new president. The matter rests in the hands of Boards of Trustees whose composition graphically reflects big business. What better place or opportunity to challenge the whole character of American education, than to nominate student choices when a new college president is being selected! Syracuse has

just undertaken such a campaign. First it raised the general issue of whether students shall have a voice in the selection of a new chancellor. Now it is going ahead, not just to nominate its own choice, but to involve the whole campus in nominations by a straw vote.

The A.S.U. and Administrators

Here it is perhaps appropriate to mention a change in attitude that college adminstrations have developed toward the student movement. I do not think the wish is father to the thought when I say that some administrations have come to look upon the A.S.U. as an ally. This is not strange when we acknowledge the powerful traditions of liberalism that animate the American campus. It is true that in the long run college administration are the spokesmen of trustees. We can sometimes hope for a measure of liberalism commensurate with the stature of the individual men and the liberalism of the community in which the university is established. Our attitude must not be one of "we are the opponents of the administration," in the sense that trade unions are opposed to employers. Let us say: we support college deans and presidents in their efforts ot prevent the patrioteers from turning our universities into breeding grounds of fascism. Let us take for granted such administrative liberalism. In our approach to the administration let us state that its own professed liberalism dictates support of the student strike, of A.Y.A., of student-faculty courts. Certainly we must be basically independent of the administration, rembering that it is subject to pressure from trustees and the reactionary forces in the community in a way that we are not. I have been told, however, that especially in the South, college administrators welcome the A.S.U. as an awakening force in the campus which gives student opinion and thought as tremendous stimulus.

Democracy in the university brings up another problem which is of immediate interest to us. That is the right of student organizations such as ours to exist on campus. The ideal situation in this respect exists at Cornell where any student group which declares its purpose and files its officers with the administration can utilize the university facilities for meetings. This is the system that liberal members of the New York Board of Higher Education are attempting to have adopted in the city colleges and which lost by only one vote at the last meeting. Many of our chapters still have not received recognition from their universities and their

work is considerably hampered. This situation prevails at Syracuse and Boston, among others. What a commentary upon those universities is this blunt denial of academic freedom! What confidence can these universities avow in the ideas they are trying to inculcate when they fear the vitality of the A.S.U. program? These are facts which, when brought out wish sufficient drama, will compel any administration to grant us recognition. An issue such as recognition of the A.S.U. involves the broad principles of democracy and enlightenment which command the allegiance of so many people in this country that, if our campaign is properly organized, no administration can remain adamant. One fact is clear—without recognition, execution of the A.S.U. program in a manner to win the allegiance of large numbers of students is a bleak undertaking. One does not have to speculate about this. Such has been the case at Los Angeles Jr. College, U.C.L.A., Syracuse. Such is the case in the high schools.

During the past year two outstanding cases of censorship of student newspapers occurred, involving the University of Texas and Lafayette. In both instances almost unanimous student-faculty condemnation was voiced. Scores of editorials in other college journals attacked the censorship. Public opinion was articulate upon the side of an uncensored undergraduate press. Out of the campaign against censorship at the University of Texas developed not merely an A.S.U. chapter at the university, but a state organization with a state organizer, four established chapters and contacts in several other colleges. Our members knew how to build on this issue in Texas and to convert it into a victory for the student movement. I know of places where the clamping down of censorship would have been met with a fatalistic shrug from our membership, as if to say "here is an additional burden upon the progressive movement."

The most disgraceful situation in our colleges and universities is the discrimination that is practiced against Negro students. Examine a college near here, Northwestern. The situation is not unique there. But a student there by the name of William Bell had the courage publicly to challenge the system. Bell broke the unwritten law that no Negro shall be allowed to stay at a university dormitory. He was the first Negro to use the university swimming pool. He fought for and won the right to sit on the main floor of Evanston theatres. Now he is suing Northwestern for $5,000 damages because it evicted him from the campus beach last summer. The A.S.U. will suport his suit and has already

undertaken a campus-wide campaign against Negro discrimination which won widespread support. Who is not aware of a similar situation in his own school? In the face of these circumstances, I do not know why our program speaks of a "Southern" system of oppression. Other A.S.U. chapters made some headway toward establishing racial equality in the schools. At the University of Illinois our chapter launched a co-operative eating house when Negro students were barred from all campus eating places. In the South our chapters have made steps in the direction of inter-racial cooperation.

Some of our members in the South have raised a programmatic problem which is worthy of discussion at this congress. They state that it is doubly difficult to carry on A.S.U. work in the South if the major emphasis at the present time is opposition to segregation. While recognizing the correctness of this principle, they feel that the present focus should be the fight against exploitation and oppression of the Negro people; *i.e.* for equality in educational appropriations. As a northener who has, of necessity, a somewhat intellectualized approach to this problem, I am diffident about expressing my personal opinion, and I trust that we will hear discussion from our members who are working in southern schools. One can say quite categorically that it is meaningless to speak of ending Negro oppression without simultaneously pressing for complete equality. Racial division is one of the methods of continuing, not only the exploitation of the Negro student and worker, but of the white. Nor can we expect to win the support of Negro students if we do not speak out clearly and unequivocally our conviction and belief in the complete equality of races. It is one thing, however, to claim allegiance to complete racial equality and another to help in its achievement. I believe that an essential bridge toward ending segregation in the South, is the building of a sense of self-confidence among Negro students, is the creation of a kinship between Negro and white students by the building of the student movement. This may mean in many cases that we will have to build A.S.U. chapters in the South as a step toward ending segregation. At the present moment I think that the most effective manner of building a student movement in the Negro schools is by emphasis on the type of issue that I discussed in the earlier section of my report —freedom of social life, equal educational opportunities. In the white schools we cannot make a condition of entrance into the A.S.U. and the continuance of the chapter an immediate campaign

on the question of segregation. If the issue arises we must meet it honestly and boldly in the terms of the A.S.U. program, *i.e.*, complete racial equality, but segregation cannot be the paramount issue around which we build the A.S.U. in the South.

"Shirts" on the Campus

No discussion of the student and democracy would be complete without mentioning some more spectacular efforts to suppress liberty in the educational sphere. I refer to outright fascist groups in the universities, to gag legislation, and to red-baiting investigations. The "Student Americaneers" who proudly launched their organization by stealing our credentials at our Columbus meeting have not found any widespread support among students. Although they have been the recipients of some financial assistance, they have failed to expand. They are in touch with a small group at the University of Minnesota, but so far our vigilance has prevented them from making any real headway. At Columbia the "Blue Shirts" netted only a newspaper story, then fading out with the publicity. At Johns Hopkins, despite Duce's claims to the continued existence of an organization containing R.O.T.C. officers and others, the group has been forced into such secret activity that no one can find it. The American Liberty League campus groups, which might have been more potent centers of fascism, have been destroyed by the Roosevelt landslide. The Anti-Reds belonging to the University of Chicago's Civic League do not seem to have been successful, since our chapter in Chicago is the largest in the country. Another source of fascist infection, the advanced R.O.T.C. still finds it expedient publicly to deny and excoriate fascist intentions. Secretly, however, in common with other patrioteering organizations it carries on an intensive campaign against the A.S.U. When we began to set up a chapter in San Diego high school the local P.T.A. received a mimeographed letter from the local Reserve Officers' Association warning it against the "subversive" and Moscow-inspired activities of the A.S.U. All this testifies to two things: one, the success of the A.S.U. in smashing campus fascism hard when it shows its head; two, reaction still does not have to resort to the uglier tactics of fascism. We must, however, remain alert to the dangers of a fascist movement in the schools, remembering the fine collection of racial and snobbish prejudices that are bred in the ordinary undergraduate by some of the aspects of the fraternity system, by our press and educational system.

Two legislative investigations of radical activity in the colleges during the past year ended as boomerangs to those who initiated them. In Texas, the investigation of the state university discredited the red-baiters, while in New York the McNaboe investigation appears destined to end without holding a single session because of the intense opposition it met, an opposition organized chiefly by the A.S.U. and the Teachers Union. Eight of the nine chief sponsors of the teachers loyalty oath in Massachusetts were defeated by the action of student groups and trade unions in the recent elections. The Nunan loyalty oath in Albany legislature failed of passage for the second year, because of the prompt action of our student groups. Nevertheless, more than a score of teachers oath bills remain on the legislative books.

These are the more overt forms of curtailing democracy and freedom in our educational system. They should represent danger signals of the path American democracy and education can traverse if we do not build our movement quickly and powerfully. It is important, however, not to allow these more dramatic displays of reaction to blind us to the continuous repression and intimidation which exists in our school system because, controlled by bankers and coropration executives, it must defend and uphold the *status quo*. May I close this section on democracy in the schools by pointing out that it is a comparatively simple matter to recognize an oath bill as being contrary to the ideals of American life. It is far more difficult to see the seeds of fascism in the very failure and absence of honest discussion by our instructors and schools, of the contemporary world, of the drive toward war, of the existence of poverty.

We must constantly bear in mind the simple truth that higher education today is in the hands of an interlocking directorate of trustees who represent that very oligarchy of high finance, industry and politics which we assail in our program. Because these interests dominate our educational system a Jerome Davis is fired, a Bob Burke is expelled, our chapters are denied recognition, American education cannot educate its youth for democracy. Perhaps the ultimate solution for all of us may be the one that has been posed by Harold Lunger of Yale Divinity School:

> "If corporations and boards of directors of secular universities are going to continue to exercise veto power over the considered policies and actions of their related divinity schools, then the time will soon come—perhaps it is now here—for theological faculties and student bodies to secede from those universities. This may

mean the sacrificing of comfortable buildings and adequate libraries; it may mean that faculty members and students alike will have to divide their time between study and manual labor. But at any rate our souls would then be our own. . . ."

The Fight for Peace

I NOW come to a point which has been enthroned in the very forefront of the A.S.U. program—namely the fight against war. If my comments are brief, it is not because of lack of interest or through underestimation of its importance. Indeed in the present world situation it is of cardinal importance. Your chairman has already discussed it and there will be even fuller review later on. I do not want to say, however, that some clear line must be set down at this convention. The coming anti-war strike, involving one million students, will speak with no single voice and thus lose much of its effectiveness, if we ourselves cannot emerge from this convention with an unequivocal and consistent position. I do not view the anti-war movement as an educational forum or an arena in which rival concepts struggle for mastery. Our strike and anti-war movement are practical instruments for combatting war preparations and a declaration of war. They are educational instruments only in a parallel sense. Basically they are instruments of political pressure. To retain their effectiveness they must be capable of rallying thousands of students in a united fashion.

A movement such as ours must be able to adjust itself promptly to the varied and unforeseen ways in which general principles assert themselves in concrete life. For many years we have decleared that fascism means war. During the summer a fascist insurrection broke out in Spain, an insurrection backed by Germany and Italy. What situation did this precipitate within the A.S.U.? I want to commend those chapters which recognized the deep sympathy that American demoracy should have for Spanish democracy, utilizing the issue to inspire their membership and wide groups of students into support of Spain. Cornell, Smith, Bennington and some of our New York City chapters are especially to be commended in this respect.

I think, however, we can justly criticize ourselves for taking for granted that the American campus would sympathize with the loyalist cause. We were confident that the A.S.U. would be of one mind on this issue. Because everything we abominate is represented by Franco and his cohorts, because every ideal to which we are passionately committed is represented by the loyal-

ist cause, we have been impatient with those whom the Spanish struggle has confused, or whose idealism has been contradicted by the methods of struggle in Spain. Many absolute pacifists have been shocked because our Union has taken sides in a situation in which both groups were employing force. This raises an extremely ethical problem.

Can the values of love, peace and tolerance ever be advanced through the means of force? Have not the last five years given us a brutal and horrible answer to that question in Germany? What agonies might mankind have been spared, what agonies of war and suppression are still to come, because the forces of democracy and idealism in Germany did not resist with all the means at their command the illegal actions of the fascists? The triumph of fascism in Germany has brought us to the brink of world war. Can anyone say that the ethical values, so nobly and courageously cherished by the pacifist, are enhanced by the likelihood of world war? What ideal that men of good will cherish has not been desecrated under Hitler and Mussolini? Yes, the people of Spain who today are fighting against fascism will pay terribly because they have been compelled to resort to armed resistance. They will pay not merely in the obvious sense of destruction of lives, property, and art, but in the sense of religion, in terms of distorted characters and embittered souls. The victory of Franco, however, would condemn, not merely this generation to such destruction and embitterment, but also their children and their children's children. The victory of fascism in Spain would prolong and extend the conditions which bring war closer to the whole world. I say that the absolute pacifist, whose highest principle is love and the dignity of the human personality, must get down on his knees before the Spanish people who are sacrificing everything to save that principle from oblivion.

"Neutrality It Is Not!"

Does the Oxford Pledge commit the A.S.U. to absolute pacifism and therefore to silence on the crisis in Spain? I believe it has always been understood that the element which made the Pledge a "united front" slogan of pacifists and others who are against war, was the fact that it represented a pledge taken in the face of a concrete situation in the United States, namely, one in which the United States was preparing for an imperialist war. It is our dramatic answer to the war preparations of the U. S. government. Pacifiists, being opposed to all wars, would naturally oppose the

war for which our government is preparing, with its billion dollar armaments budget, its M-Day plans, its Pacific bases. The Oxford Pledge is not for the A.S.U., although it may be for pacifists, an ethical absolute.

Another source of confusion has arisen out of the deep desire for neutrality on the part of American students. Keep America out of war is their prayer, and we can certainly echo it. And yet those who raise the cry of neutrality as an excuse for not aiding Spain, are confusing the issue. Neutrality as a national policy means the prevention of American involvement in war because of financial and commercial stakes in that war—stakes which are magnified by the heavy sale of war materials. But that is not what we must give to Spain. We have been asked for medical supplies, for food, for understanding and sympathy. We have been asked to prevent American recognition of the Franco junta. Such actions, some declare, are an opening wedge to those commitments which will involve us in a European war. But those who want to avoid all risk and peril in the present era will find such security only in the grave. To be alive is to be in danger. What is our alternative? Neutrality—complete and absolute? Such a policy plays into the hands of the fascists, for Germany and Italy observe no such neutrality. The victory of fascism in Spain increases the danger of world war, a war which would contain far greater risks of U. S. involvement than the kind of support we are extending to the loyalist government. The present world scene presents a complex problem. There is no simple slogan or answer to that complexity. Today the answer is—Fight the war preparations of the U. S. government; Support Spain. Tomorrow there may be another situation. Let us hope that we can meet it in a way that will uphold the aspirations and ideals of our Union. In that spirit the A.S.U. has sent the following protest to President Roosevelt:

January 7, 1937.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

We are writing this letter to you in a moment of deep shame and outraged conviction because of the hypocritical misuse of America's desire to stay out of war, expressed in Congress's passage of a law banning arms exports to the legally-constituted and democratic government in Spain.

The American Student Union is dedicated to peace. Last year we led a strike of 500,000 students against war. One of the rallying points of that strike was the demand for passage of genuine neutrality legislation. We now feel that the whole concept of neutrality has been tainted by an unneutral measure passed in its name. Why the unseeming haste to pass this bill in respect to Spain although in the case of the Italian aggression upon Ethiopia, action was stalled upon an oil embargo? How do you in your conscience differentiate the action in Spain from your refusal to act in a similar manner in respect to the civil wars in China?

You are making the concept of neutrality a pretext and a cover to aid fascism. You do so at the same moment that you preach piously about cooperation among democracies. What are you doing to preserve democracy in the world when at the place where it is being most directly attacked, namely in Spain, you make haste to play into the hands of Germany and Italy? What are you doing to preserve democracy in the world when you overstrain yourself to pass a fake neutrality measure with respect to Spain but have done nothing to prevent the rearmament of fascist Germany? What confidence can we have in your protestations of hating war when the moment comes to act you aid and abet the chief war makers in the world?

We are asking for an explanation, Mr. President, an explanation not in terms of fine pharases but in terms of realities of the world situation; an explanation that you owe to the millions of American citizens who want peace, who want to keep America out of war and who want to see democracy enthroned in the world.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Lash

National Secretary

I have spent a longer time than I anticipated in this discussion, because on the issue of peace there are legitimate differences of policy. They should be discussed at this convention. That discussion should not transcend the basic problems of the A.S.U.—how to develop our Union into a mass student movement. And even our discussion on peace policy will have much more realism if it bears upon campaigns on the campus. In the round table on the R.O.T.C. we should examine the reasons for our failure to carry through local campaigns against the R.O.T.C. In our discussions of the strike we should plan how to integrate it with building our Union and building local United Student Peace Committees.

Reconstruction in Education

A section of our program which has been completely neglected in our work, despite its enduring importance, is the actual content of our education. A friend of mine once placed this matter graphically when he declared that "there is a striking and picketing that must be done within library walls." He meant that the curriculum itself offered a challenge to those who wanted to create a society in which there would be peace, economic security and liberty. The subject matter of our courses in economics, history, psychology, anthropology, law, embody a defense of the *staus quo.* No one knows the extent of this orthodoxy because no effort has been made to study this matter on a widespread scale. I would recommend that every A.S.U. chapter form a curriculum revision committee which would undertake an analysis of the onesidedness of the present curriculum and make recommendations for new courses, the broadening of existing courses, and similar steps. The National Committee should be instructed to inaugurate such a study on a national scale. Chapters will find some suggestions in *War Our Heritage*, in planning a peace course, in Lewis Corey's articles in *The Advocate*, relating to economics, and in old issues of the *Student Outlook* in a series of articles "Research Jobs for Students" by Lucy Kramer and Felix S. Cohen. Indeed we could make a genuine contribution to American education if our collective research along these lines would culminate in a pamphlet on the subject of higher education.

Harvard has undertaken an interesting experiment in its government department which we recommend to other chapters. Periodically the whole department—students and faculty—comes together for an exchange of criticism and advice. Students criticize methods of teaching, what is taught, textbooks, while professors in turn criticize and make suggestions to the students. Indeed the A.S.U. might challenge the faculties and administrations of our universities to meet on the basis of equals their student bodies to discuss what's the matter with our education.

Vassar traditionally has published a *Journal of Undergraduate Studies*. This year it was announced the *Journal* would be discontinued. The A.S.U. undertook a campaign to have the *Journal* reappear, winning widespread support from the student body. Why should not all colleges publish similar pournals? It would stimulate undergraduate scholarship and originality.

Harvard A.S.U.'ers wanted to establish a society which would

bring film classics to Cambridge. The project was vetoed as too ambitious. An independent group of students then undertook the plan, enlisting the support of prominent professors and students, and have carried through the project. We mention these as types of services which flow from our program, but which our chapters usually overlook.

Until we achieve the type of curriculum revision which will gear the subject matter of our classes to contemporary society, the A.S.U. must set itself forward as the organization which supplies those ideas and discussion now ruled out of classrooms and textbooks. One of our most essential services to the campus has been the bringing of unorthodox speakers to the campus. In this connection I want to underline the appreciation that the National Office has of the need for a central speakers bureau which will route prominent speakers through the chapters. The problem is primarily a budgetary one.

The Smith College A.S.U. publishes a mimeographed bulletin containing reviews of radical and progressive books which might otherwise escape the attention of undergraduates. Many of our chapters have small study groups. This convention should consider whether the A.S.U. should not act as patron to such groups rather than have them completely independent of us.

These latter considerations raise another type of problem which the A.S.U. must solve as it grows. Many of our members become completely bound up in the work of the A.S.U. They devote their undergraduate lives to it. We believe that they want no special thanks. The work itself, the sense of fulfillment that it gives them is their reward. Yet these people demand and we should provide an inner life that would be richer and diversified. This inner life covers such matters as social affairs, the formation of string quartets—the New York district has spoken of forming a band—songfests, and all those things which will build a sense of camaraderie among us.

Some members seem to feel that there is an incompatibility between work for the A.S.U. and a rounded undergraduate life. I think it is truer to state that the A.S.U., by imparting a serious and responsible approach to life amongst undergraduates, makes them take their education seriously. Indeed our opponents, with their trivial values, their conception of college as a four year escape from life, their contempt for studies, for scholarship and culture, are those who make philosophers declare that only the elite should be allowed to attend institutions of higher learning.

We repudiate those who consider that true scholarship can only be pursued in an ivory tower. We also recognize that our critical attitude toward the curriculum must not be used as a pretext for failing courses or being indifferent to grades.

International Relations

OUR record of international student solidarity is one of which to be proud. We are closely linked with the Cuban student movement, after having toured one of its leaders through Eastern universities. At the present time we are touring both the heroic Loh Tsei, leader of the Chinese Student Union, and an equally valiant Spanish student who comes to us direct from the battlefield. We have sent some funds to aid the underground, anti-fascist work in the Austrian universities.

During the summer we were represented at two important student conferences—the International Socialist Student Congress at Oxford, and a left wing anti-imperialist student conference in Mexico. Emerging from the latter has been an Anti-Imperialist student federation with control centering in Mexico, but which is in contact with most of the important student organizations in North and South America. I would recommend that we continue our cooperation with this organization, since it will certainly be the nucleus for any progressive Inter-American student organization, and we can help them with our experience.

At Oxford our experiences in the A.S.U. contributed toward bringing about Socialist and Communist student unity in Europe. I have just heard from England that the unified University Labour Federation, which is affiliated with the Labor Party, has increased its membership from 2,000 to 3,700. It has determined to fight on immediate student issues. There has been similar growth in the unified student movement in Belgium. The Oxford unification proposals are now being discussed in the various countries. There are two possibilities—that the unity will be achieved on the basis of a revolutionary program which would exclude the A.S.U. On the other hand the international may be so broadened to become a World Student Union with national groups having the competence to determine their relationship to the progressive political parties in their countries. We have been invited to attend the unity conference which will take place in Paris the first week in July. The sixteen students who acted as observers at the A.S.U. at the Oxford conference contributed greatly to its success as well as to their own self-education. I would recom-

mend that our delegation to Paris number not less than fifty.

The first A.S.U. European tour recruited fourteen students and was splendidly successful. We built up great goodwill for us among not only European students but among American students travelling in Europe. It is planned to have another tour this coming summer which will benefit by last year's experiences.

Our international work has become so varied that it is becoming necessary to set up a department of foreign affairs. The National Committee should appoint a resident subcommittee to work with the National Secretary on these matters. Even more important is the creation of a fund for our international work. Frequently we receive urgent appeals for aid from student groups abroad. At the present time the call comes from Spain. Or else it is desirable to tour a person such as Loh Tsei. Or we hope to send a delegation to China. I would propose that we create an International Student Solidarity Fund into which we might deposit money raised, for example, during Loh Tsei's tour, or perhaps you would sanction a nickel assessment a year for this purpose. It is imperative that such a fund be created and sustained.

At the end of the Summer I attended the Geneva Youth Congress as a delegate from the Union. It was a very broad congress and consequently it was difficult to obtain as militant a stand as some of us desired. The American delegation, although broad in its composition was distinctly to the left of the Congress. That should give you some idea of the Congress's broadness. The Congress has become a permanent body. An American section, which has been meeting during the past few months, has interested many youth groups in peace work, such as the Girl Scouts, which previously have not displayed any concern for these problems. In that committee the A.S.U. has been a galvanizing force.

Before I close this report, I want to say a few words about high school work. It will be dealt with more fully in Miss Strack's report. I cannot omit expressing my apreciation for the courage and persistency of our high school stalwarts who work under conditions much more oppressive than are found in colleges, who are experimenting, trying to find the techniques whereby we can approach the millions of high school students. If any part of our work demands honest thinking—thinking without dogma, it is the high school work. Meanwhile hats off to our high school section!

In the presence of Loh Tsei and of our Spanish friend, in the work we have done to establish a world student union, we are

demonstrating that students everywhere are faced with common problems and have common aspirations. This fact—that students the world over are groping toward the same solutions as we ourselves indicates a vista in terms of which the A.S.U. achieves a grandeur and purposefulness that we might overlook in our daily work. Ours is no small, confining movement occupied with the details of achieving a more smugly comfortable life. Our movement, extending around the world, represents the outposts of a new way of life and a new breed of men and women. Ours is a generation of men and women who will not be dogged by the spectres of poverty, of war, of intellectual bondage. We are men and women who will instead live in a free society, who will have the chance to live the full lives that our economic and cultural resources now permit. For this vision our fellow students have died in China, Cuba, Spain. For this vision many more may have to sacrifice their lives. Whatever the outcome, all of us know that in our movement is the greatest sense of adventure, in our movement is the only true comradeship, in our movement alone can one feel at peace with one's conscience.

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